1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is
[191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak
[197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8]

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Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background:

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In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians.

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He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained:

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The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself.

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About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching.

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He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera-

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Language: Popular or Pure?

The Greek elementary school has been caught in the no-man's land of a controversy which makes the current educational debate between traditionalists and progressives in the United States seem pale by comparison. The epic struggle has involved the particular form of the Greek language to be used in this school. After the Greek savant has established the point that modern Greek is the same language as ancient Greek but that it has been modified over the past thirty centuries, he will then differentiate between the three representations of Greek.

First, of course, is the ancient Greek which was by no means a uniform language. There were four main classic dialects: the Ionic in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were originally written and which came to be identified with epic poetry; the Aeolian which was thought of chiefly in connection with lyric poetry; the Attic which was used for tragic poetry, oratorical art, and philosophical debate; and the Doric, used mainly by Spartans who wrote very little, and which therefore had no significant literary development. With the spread of Greek culture under Alexander the Great, another type of Greek, the Helleniki Koine, was used by many people speaking other languages but united under the same political ruler. It used only the commonest Greek words found in all of the Greek dialects; it also incorporated non-Hellenic words. It was the language in which the four Christian Gospels first appeared. The Koine, however, was not classical Greek and is not studied as such.[13]

Today one finds a popular form of Greek, again in a rich variety of dialects, which is called *demotike*, or the people's language. Just as the educated people in the Hellenistic period continued to use the Attic Greek when all the uneducated people were speaking Koine, so today many of the educated people frown upon the demotike as a vulgar form which is to be avoided.

In its place they would substitute a third form of Greek, the *katharevousa*, or purist language.[14] This is an artificial language, based as much as possible upon classic syntax and vocabulary, which became in effect the official language of the Greek state after the war of independence in 1821. The contrasts between demotike and katharevousa have been clearly explained by Kimon Friar in his discussion of modern Greek poetry:

> The purist is the official language used on all formal occasions by those in government, business, and university, although the same people speak demotic or some modification of it. By the time of the eleventh century the demotic had closely approximated its present form, which in grammar today varies but slightly from that spoken during the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. The purist is condensed and synthetic; the demotic is periphrastic and analytic, rich in many concrete words and phrases but extremely

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

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Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

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In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*." [16]

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In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928 it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17]

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

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I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level.

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But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words:

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> If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false.

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens:

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"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this.

[167]

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes."

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Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

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1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life.

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Ellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kolias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

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4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

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3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a [illegible] in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessaloniki, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotiseis dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith.
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9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowledge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my relatives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliteration is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.)

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	prósyaya
child's son	ángonas
child's daughter	angóna

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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III

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

> Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.
>
> ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

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178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects [793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

795 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the
178 extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one
551 through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the returned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

178 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is
● 197 scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios!*"

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written.

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti!* Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen!* As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow.

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise.

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the

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villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a degree of kinship.

Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children between the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a